

# The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. -- James Monroe

VOLUME IX, NUMBER 8

WASHINGTON, D. C.

OCTOBER 30, 1939

## Future of American Shipping Is Weighed

Cash - and - Carry Provision of Neutrality Act Would Affect Merchant Marine

### CONGRESS STUDIES PROBLEM

Seeks Ways to Prevent Collapse of Shipping Interests, While Keeping U. S. out of War

When the neutrality bill first came before Congress, only one feature of the measure attracted widespread attention. That was the repeal of the arms embargo. It was generally agreed both in Congress and among the general public that the rest of the bill was good. The arms embargo was the debatable issue. Nearly everyone seemed to approve the "cash-and-carry" plan. If nations which were at war wished to buy American goods, they should pay cash for the goods and carry the materials away in their own boats. American ships should not participate in war trade. They should not be permitted to carry goods to the ports of any warring nation. This was what the bill provided and there was general agreement as to the wisdom of the plan.

#### Doubts Arise

As the debate went on, however, doubts began to arise. What would be the effect of a cash-and-carry plan, or particularly of the "carry" part of it, on American shipping? If American ships could not carry goods to England or France or Canada or Australia or Germany or any other country which was at war, would they not be put out of business? Other ships would get this business, it was said, and might keep it even after the war ended. Ships flying the American flag would be tied up in our harbors without any work to do, and perhaps the American merchant marine would suffer a serious loss—a loss from which it would not quickly recover.

The impression gained ground that Congress should do something to soften the blow. And so it did. The committee which had charge of the neutrality bill agreed upon an amendment to it, and this amendment at once commanded the support of a majority in Congress. There is little doubt that it will be attached to the bill before final passage.

The bill as amended will still bar American ships from the most dangerous of the war zones. They cannot carry goods to or from Great Britain, France, or Germany. They may, however, trade in the Pacific. They may carry goods to or from Australia and New Zealand even though these countries are at war, for while they are at war no fighting is going on in their waters. Ships can trade with them without running much risk of getting into trouble. The amended law will permit our ships to trade with the west coast ports of Canada. Whether or not permission will be given for United States vessels to enter the Canadian Atlantic ports has not been determined as this paper goes to press.

One can recognize certain harmful effects of the law, of course, without arguing that the cash-and-carry plan is a mistake. It often happens that a law will have certain very harmful effects and yet will be a desirable law, the reason being that it will do a greater good in some other direction. The law which prohibits American ships from doing business in certain dangerous



A MODERN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS IN ANKARA, TURKEY

## Announcement !

Each high school student in the United States has a chance to compete this fall for a very attractive prize; a prize to be awarded early in December by The Town Hall. Better than that, he may compete for the prize by doing what each loyal American should be doing anyway; by thinking about democracy, how to save it, to strengthen it, and to use it for his own and his country's betterment. We urge all our readers to participate in the competition. Here are the facts to keep in mind:

The Town Hall offers two sets of prizes for essays, not to exceed 1,000 words in length, on "What Does American Democracy Mean to Me?" One set of prizes go to the writers of the best essays, with anyone of whatever age eligible to participate. The other set of prizes go to high school students of whatever age, or to persons not in high school or college, who are under 17 years of age. The first prize in each set is \$500 and a trip to New York, all expenses paid, to speak on a Town Hall program. The second prize is \$200; the third prize \$100; and there are 20 prizes of \$10 each. The cash prizes for the general contest, offered through Town Hall, are made possible through a contribution by Mrs. Henry Morgenthau, Sr., and the prizes for the youth contest are provided through a contribution by Mr. and Mrs. Walter E. Myer.

Essays should be written on *one* side of the paper only—and typed, if possible. Envelopes containing your essay must be postmarked *not later than* December 4, 1939. The essays will be judged by a committee of prominent Americans, on the basis of aptness, originality, sincerity, and clarity. Their decision will be final. Winners will be announced as soon as possible after the closing date (December 4, 1939).

If you are a high school student of whatever age, or if, though not a high school student, you are under 17 years of age, write "Youth Contest" on your envelope and on the first page of the essay. If you have already sent in your essay, and, being eligible for entrance in the youth contest, wish to be so entered, state this desire to the essay contest editor.

Listen to "America's Town Meeting of the Air" program for further announcements—Thursday evenings, 9:30 to 10:30, Eastern Standard Time; Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company. The subject for discussion on the evening of November 23 will be the subject of the essay contest—"What Does American Democracy Mean to Me?"

Mail essays to: Essay Contest Editor, Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street, New York City.

(Concluded on page 8)

## Effects of Turkish Agreement Studied

Position of Great Britain and France Is Strengthened as Result of Treaty

### OF GREAT STRATEGIC VALUE

Through Control of Dardanelles and Black Sea, Turkey Holds Key to Europe's Back Door

The diplomatic battle which has been going on for several months to win the support of Turkey has finally been won by the Allies. That is the significance of the treaty of mutual assistance which was signed a few days ago by Great Britain, France, and Turkey. Even before the outbreak of the war, Germany tried to win Turkey over to her side by threats and promises. After the outbreak of hostilities, the task of preventing Turkey from lining up with the Allies was undertaken by Soviet Russia. For 23 days, Turkish Foreign Minister Shukru Saracoglu remained in Moscow negotiating with the Soviets. He returned to Ankara empty-handed, having refused to accept the Soviet terms, and Turkey immediately concluded her agreement with the Allies.

#### A Substantial Victory

This treaty marks the first substantial victory of the Allies since the beginning of the war. To a certain extent, it offsets the defeat they suffered when the Germans and Soviets signed their agreement which removed the possibility of Russia's lining up with the Allies. It fundamentally alters the entire situation of the European nations, both belligerents and neutrals, and may, in the course of time, have a decisive influence on the outcome of the war. For not only is Turkey the most important of the nations in southeastern Europe; she occupies a strategic position unequaled by any other power in that region.

A brief examination of the terms of the Allied-Turkish agreement will give one an idea of its importance. Let us consider first what the treaty does *not* do. It does not compel Turkey immediately to enter the war on the side of England and France. If the war does not spread to other nations, Turkey will remain neutral. Secondly, the treaty releases Turkey from the obligation of coming to the assistance of the Allies if they should become involved in a war with the Soviet Union. In other words, Turkey retains the discretion of deciding what her policy shall be if Russia decides to march against Rumania in order to seize the province of Bessarabia. Admittedly, therefore, it is not an out-and-out military alliance, to come into force under any circumstance.

Turning to the positive side of the treaty, we find that it strengthens the British and French position in a number of important respects. In the first place, should either Turkey or the Allies become involved in war in the Mediterranean or the Balkans, they will join forces and unitedly wage war against the enemy. The treaty specifically provides that if England and France lend assistance to Rumania or Greece, to whom they have given pledges of aid against aggression, Turkey will cooperate with them. Again, if Italy decides to enter the war on the side of Germany, Turkey will line up with England and France. In brief, any spreading of the present war in Europe—except in the case

(Concluded on page 3)



THE DANUBE  
(From an illustration in "The Danube," by Emil Lengyel.)

## - Straight Thinking -

### VIII. Obtaining Facts

If we want to think straight and to think effectively, we must have facts at our command. We cannot do much thinking about nothing. Idle reflection when one does not have facts at his command gets nowhere. The first step in straight thinking, therefore, is to obtain facts and to obtain evidence on questions which are in dispute.

We get many of these facts by our general reading and conversation. If we read a great deal in newspapers and magazines and books, and if we talk to well-informed people, we shall gradually acquire a large amount of information on a wide variety of subjects. Whenever a matter comes up for discussion we shall probably have something to say about it. We shall not be wholly uninformed.

We cannot depend wholly, however, upon general reading of this kind. We must know where to find information on any particular subjects which may come up. We must know where to look for evidence. Suppose, for example, that you are interested in the problem of work relief, of government ownership of railroads, of the repeal of the arms embargo, or any one of a hundred questions which might arise. You might without much preliminary reading or without very much information say, "I think so and so." But your thinking would not amount to much because it would be uninformed thinking. You must find out how to discover facts and ideas about any subject you wish to study intensively.

There are two guides to materials of all kinds and on all subjects with which every student should be familiar. One of them is *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, published by H. W. Wilson Co., 950 University Avenue, New York City. The *Readers' Guide* is put out as a pamphlet each month, and it lists magazine articles by subject. They are listed alphabetically so that, whatever subject one is studying, he can find the magazine articles which have appeared on that subject during the month. Each three months these references are brought together in a quarterly publication, and they are brought together again in a yearly issue of *Readers' Guide*. Anyone taking the service receives all these collections. The price is \$12 a year. The *Readers' Guide* should be in every school library, and if it is not it should be consulted in the nearest public library.

Another publication put out by the H. W. Wilson Company is the *Book Review Digest* (\$8 per year). It lists the books which have been published in this country by author and by subject (alphabetically) in monthly pamphlets which are brought together in an annual volume. Not only are the books listed, but excerpts are taken from book reviews which appear in the newspapers and magazines of the nation.

By following the *Book Review Digest* one can learn of the new books which have appeared on any subject in which he is interested, and he can get an idea of whether the reviews have been favorable or unfavorable. *The New York Times Book Review*, published as a section of the *Sunday Times*, is also valuable.

After you have done a considerable amount of reading on both sides of the question, you should clarify your thinking by talking matters over with other people. You can test your ideas by discussion. You can find out what other people are thinking. You can give them ideas and receive ideas from them. Through this method of cooperative thinking, you may obtain more information and sounder opinions. If you will read with the purpose of discovering truth and, after having a certain amount of information, you will discuss problems tolerantly and thoughtfully, you will rapidly get yourself into such a position that your thinking will be straight and effective.

### What the Magazines Say

THE two leading articles in the November issue of *Asia* take up important aspects of the United States' position in the Far East. The writers of both articles feel that the United States should reconsider her policy toward China and Japan in the light of the recent outbreak of war in Europe.

In the first article, "Facing Facts About a New Japanese-American Treaty," A. Whitney Griswold says the time is at hand to replace the commercial treaty with Japan, which the State Department canceled last July, with a new treaty promoting our commercial interests, clearing up old diplomatic hard feelings, and putting our pacific relations on a stable basis. In his own words:

"It seems inevitable that the two predominant powers of the Pacific, whose trade with each other is voluminous, should redefine



their commercial treaty relations. Could they not at the same time at least break ground for a settlement of some of their outstanding political differences?"

Mr. Griswold proposes that the United States negotiate with Japan a new unconditional most-favored-nation agreement identical with the other trade agreements of the Hull program. He believes this would not only promote our commercial interests with Japan, who has been one of the best customers for American goods, but it might also pave the way for creating some kind of order in the Far East. As a concluding argument for a new treaty he says:

"It costs the United States no sacrifice of national interest or national honor. It is consistent with American neutrality. Might

## Rich and Colorful History of the Danube Recaptured by E. Lengyel

THROUGHOUT the centuries of European history, the Danube River has played a vital role in the destiny of the nations and peoples of the continent. Emil Lengyel has undertaken in his new book, "The Danube" (New York: Random House, \$3.75), to interpret the Danube, to tell of its role in shaping European history, to give a colorful description of its geographical setting, to present the rich pageant of its personalities, and to proclaim to the world the message of the Danube.

Mr. Lengyel's book has many of the qualities of the river with which it deals. It is a mixture of history and economics, of tragedy and gaiety, of peace and war, of prosperity and poverty, of fact and legend. From the Black Forest in Germany whence it springs to the Black Sea where it empties, the Danube cuts across 20,000 years of history and across the very heart of Europe. "It was a center of culture thousands of years before Paris had become a fishing village. . . . It has seen more wars than any other river. . . . If history bestowed names, it would long ago have called the river 'The Beautiful Red Danube.'" Something of the sweep of Mr. Lengyel's book may be seen from the following picture of contrasts of the Danube:

The Danube flows across several civilizations. Along its course of 1,750 miles the culture of two thousand years is revealed. At the Danube's source industrial cities produce twentieth-century machines; the fishermen in the Danube delta, where the river dies, live the life of St. Peter's contemporaries. Sailing down the Danube you sail into mankind's past.

It is precisely to take the reader along the historical and geographical path of the Danube that Mr. Lengyel has written his book. And along the journey one encounters a long procession of villages and personalities; one seems to hear the voices of the minnesingers of the Middle Ages as they stand in sharp contrast to the raucous notes of the "Horst Wessel Lied" of Nazi Germany. One is suddenly thrown back into the age of the Roman Empire, and follows through the days of Charlemagne, the Holy Roman Empire. The

chapter of the Habsburgs is recaptured and the reader finally travels into the Slavic regions through which the Danube passes.

The history of the Danube, Mr. Lengyel contends, is the history of man's failure to read the message of the river. "History makes the message of the Danube clear. The river builds and also destroys. It builds where the laws of its inner nature are obeyed and destroys where they are flouted. The Danube was to be the lifeline of the Roman Empire, but Rome misread the river's message and made it a frontier instead of a unifying force for the entire basin. . . ." Continuing, the author writes:

The Danube became the lifeline of the Habsburg Empire for four centuries, and almost performed its real function toward the end of their reign. Under the black and gold banner of the House of Austria, supported by the red-white-green flag of Hungary, a monarchy was reared on the Middle Danube banks in which German and Slav, Latin and Magyar found a haven. But the Habsburgs could not see that it was not the river's nature to play favorites. Their Hungarian partners understood the law of the Danube even less. Slowly the river rolled down its appointed way, unable to warn, an unwilling witness to impending doom. One nation suppressed the other, and tinder was piled high in the Danube valley. A farago of divergent creeds, political and social, divided a natural unit, and the lifeline of central Europe became the deathline of the world.



BRITTON

EMIL LENGYEL

The curse of the Danube has been the ultranationalism which has developed, giving the inhabitants of the region a narrowly national viewpoint rather than a Danubian. Along the river reside Germans, Slavs, Latins, and Hungarians, all intermingled. "They are factory workers and farmers, miners and fishermen, men and women of all occupations, representing every level of culture. The differences between them are not basically great. All share the common fate of the Danube. The river basin is a natural unit. It has the richest farmland in all Europe, abundant pastures, industries of all types, minerals and metals, the largest oil deposits west of Russia, water power, timber, mountains and plains, access to the sea, moderate climate and vegetation rich and varied. These tens of millions of people could live happily and safely, instead of eking out a poor existence in the shadow of sudden death."

But in order to realize that dream, political arrangements will have to be made which will take into account these factors. Mr. Lengyel believes that a solution lies in the formation of a federation of the Danubian states. "Change the map any way you like; no division into conventional national states can meet the need. Always there will be large masses of people living within a foreign nation." This is the message of the Danube as it is interpreted in Mr. Lengyel's rich and excellent book.

### The American Observer A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

Published weekly throughout the year (except two issues in December and three issues from the middle of August to the first week in September) by the Civic EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, \$2 a calendar year. In clubs of five or more for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester. For a term shorter than a semester the price is 3 cents a week.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1931, at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL BOARD  
CHARLES A. BEARD HAROLD G. MOULTON  
FELIX MORLEY DAVID S. MUZZEEY  
WALTER E. MYER, Editor

PAUL D. MILLER, ANDRE DE PORRY CLAY COSS, Associate Editors

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF TURKEY PHOTOS  
THE WINDING BOSPORUS HAS A NUMBER OF GREEN COVES LIKE THIS ONE AT BEBEK

THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF TURKEY

## Great Significance Attached to Allied Agreement with Turkey

(Concluded from page 1, column 4)

of Russia—is likely to draw Turkey in on the side of the Allies. Among the more important implications of the treaty may be the following:

### Allied Gains

1. The diplomatic and military position of England and France has become stronger than at any time since the beginning of the war. If Turkey had allowed herself to be controlled by the Soviet Union or had been brought under the domination of Germany, the ability of the Allies to prevent German expansion in the Balkans would have been destroyed. The mere fact of geography would have prevented them from coming to the aid of Greece or Rumania or any other country in the Balkans. Turkey's position is of the greatest strategic value, and Turkish cooperation would have been a great boon to Germany or Russia, or both.

Turkey's control of the eastern gateway of the Mediterranean is of as great importance as Britain's control of the western gateway at Gibraltar. She straddles the European and Asiatic continents. Through the Dardanelles and the Bosporus lies the only access from the western nations of Europe to the Balkans, and it is only through this route that England and France could send ships and troops and supplies to Rumania. Through the Dardanelles Straits, a channel some 47 miles in length and three or four miles in width, ships can pass from the Mediterranean into the Sea of Marmora, and thence ply their way to the Bosporus Straits, another narrow channel 18 miles in length, which empty into the Black Sea.

Had Turkey lined up with Germany or complied with the wishes of the Soviet Union, the Dardanelles would have been closed to the warships of England and France. As it is, Turkey retains control of the Dardanelles and English and French ships can enter the Black Sea to come to the aid of Rumania, should that country become the victim of German aggression. Acceptance of Russia's demands would have made the Black Sea a Russian lake through which she could ship supplies to assist Germany and from which she could exclude British and French vessels. One result of the recent treaty, therefore, is, in the words of one writer, to make Turkey "controller of that sea" and not to demote her to the role of "lock keeper."

Turkey's relations to the Dardanelles remain governed by the convention, or agreement, signed by the powers at Montreux, Switzerland in 1926. That agreement provides that in the event of a war in which Turkey is neutral, warships shall have freedom of passage through the straits to help victims of aggression, and that in the event of a war in which Turkey is a

belligerent, Turkey shall be entirely free to determine what warships shall pass through the Dardanelles.

It must be remembered that during the World War, the Allies were greatly weakened because Turkey was on the side of Germany. The Dardanelles were closed to their ships and they were unable to come to the aid of either Rumania or Russia, their allies in eastern Europe. One of the most costly campaigns of the World War was that of the British navy in seeking to force the Dardanelles and open them to Allied ships. The campaign failed, and it has been estimated that the World War was prolonged at least two years as a result of Turkey's being an enemy of Britain and France.

### Effect Upon Germany

2. As the Allies' position has been strengthened by the pact with Turkey, the position of Germany has been correspondingly weakened. One of the basic aims of the Hitler regime has been to extend German influence southeastward through the Balkans. Had Turkey been won over, it would have been difficult for the Allies to intervene to prevent such a move, for there is little effective assistance they could have given to Rumania or any other victim of Nazi aggression. Their back door would have been securely closed to the Allies. Now the Allies will have access to that back door.

Moreover, any attempt on the part of Germany to upset the balance in the Balkans would almost certainly result in a strong alignment of powers against her. The political balance in that region is so delicate that almost any misstep might easily upset it. All the nations bordering on Germany fear for their national safety, and their determination to maintain their independence has been strengthened by Turkey's refusal to line up with Hitler or to bow to the dictates of Stalin.

3. The Turkish pact has had a vital effect upon the position of Italy. It will be an extremely hazardous undertaking for Italy to line up with Germany, for in so doing, she would inevitably draw Turkey in against her. Italy is much more likely to remain neutral in the conflict than would have been the case had Turkey not lined up with England and France. If a showdown comes at some time in the future, she may actually go over to the side of the Allies, for she would stand to gain far more by aligning herself with them than with Germany.

It cannot be denied that the position of the Allies has been greatly strengthened in the Mediterranean. They have now been placed in virtual control of that strategic sea. Any aggression in the Mediterranean would immediately bring Turkey

into the war on the side of the Allies. Without the assistance of Turkey, England and France might have been placed in a precarious position in that sea, for Italy could have seriously challenged their position.

The British and French navies would have been seriously weakened by having to maintain strong fleets in the Mediterranean while at the same time attempting to wage successful naval warfare against Germany in other regions of the world. Anything which strengthens their position in the Mediterranean, therefore, is a source of great strength elsewhere. And that is precisely what the pact with Turkey will accomplish for it gives them almost undisputed control of that sea.

### Relations with Russia

4. The greatest uncertainty of the treaty concerns the future relations of Turkey with Russia. It cannot be denied that the provision exempting Turkey from joining the Allies in a war against Russia constitutes a loophole and a source of weakness. There is no reason to believe, however, that the Allies are contemplating a war with Russia at this time, or that the Soviets are considering a war with them.

With respect to Russia, the Turks are in a rather delicate position. For years, they have been bound to the Soviets by the closest political ties and have maintained the most friendly relations with them. It was assumed by many that, in view of these close ties, Turkey would automatically be swept into the German-Russian orbit, that she would be unable to resist pressure brought to bear upon her by Russia. Nor can it be denied that Turkey would have little to gain by antagonizing the Soviets; friendly relations with them are greatly to her advantage.

At the same time it must be recognized that Turkey is far from being placed under the thumb of the Soviets. She has asserted a considerable degree of independence by refusing to accede to any of their demands. She has refused to line up with them and to withdraw from the British-French camp. She has retained her independence of action by keeping control over the Dardanelles and refusing to make the Black Sea into a Russian lake. By this action, she stands as a bulwark against a Russian thrust southward into the Balkans. Equally important, she blocks any possible Russian attempt to extend her control into the Near East, where both England and France have vital interests.

### Uncertain Future

What Turkey's attitude would be if Russia should actually undertake to upset the present territorial arrangements in the Balkans is a matter of great importance. If the Soviets should seize Bessarabia, for example, and the Allies should declare war on them, would Turkey sit idly

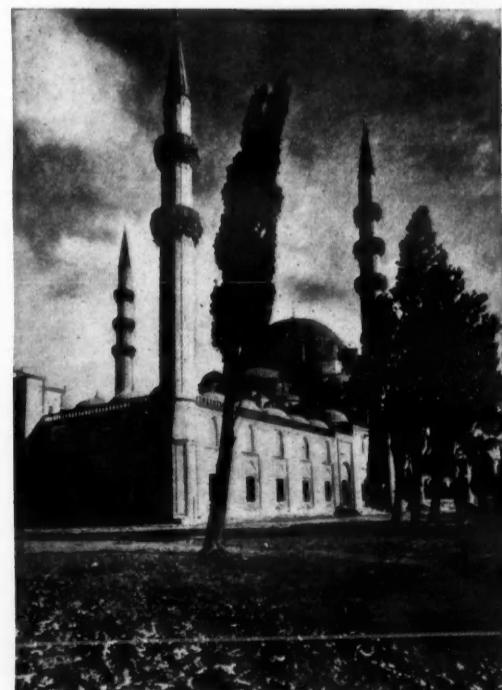
by, as she has the right to do under the reservations of the treaty? No definite answer can be given to that question at this time; probably no answer can be given until such a development actually takes place. There are many who believe, however, that Turkey is so definitely committed to England and France that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for her not to join them, in spite of her right to refuse.

Perhaps the real significance of this new turn of events is the attitude of the German government. The signing of the pact was greeted in Berlin with extreme anger. The Nazis bitterly denounced the pact, threatened to use strong military action against the Allies, and angrily warned the Turks against the consequences of their act. Germany seems to realize the seriousness of the blow which has been dealt to her by strengthening the British and the French position in the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and the Near East.

### Questions and References

1. What effect has the British-French-Turkish agreement had upon the Allies? Germany? Italy? Russia? Rumania? Greece?
2. What is the strategic importance of the Dardanelles and the Bosporus? What is the length of each?
3. Under what circumstances is Turkey not obliged to lend military support to England and France?
4. Why may the agreement with Turkey be considered the most important victory of the Allies since the outbreak of the war?
5. What do you think would be the attitude of Turkey if Russia should attempt to seize the Rumanian province of Bessarabia?

**REFERENCES:** (a) Turkey Stands By, by J. Griffin. *The Nation*, September 2, 1939, pp. 240-243. (b) Turkey Enters World Politics, by W. W. White. *Events*, August 1939, pp. 128-132. (c) Can Germany Win the Balkans? by P. F. Drucker. *Harpers*, January 1939, pp. 148-156. (d) Balkan Mantrap, by I. B. Pfleum. *Forum*, April 1939, pp. 190-194. (e) Power Politics in the Near East, by W. W. White. *Events*, June 1939, pp. 453-456.

THE MOSQUE OF SULEIMAN  
Designed by the great Turkish architect, Sinan.



SAILING QUIETLY BUT NOT UNSEEN

As a precautionary measure British and French ships are leaving New York harbor without announcing sailing dates. However, as they leave they are entirely visible from the offices of the German consulate in New York, which commands a view of the Hudson River similar to this one.

ACME

## DOMESTIC

### Refugee Problem

A year and a half ago, President Roosevelt asked 32 nations to cooperate with the United States in seeking a solution to the refugee problem, and the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees was set up as a result. So far the Committee has busied itself primarily with refugees from Germany, reporting at a recent conference that of the 400,000 persons who have left Germany since 1933, when Hitler came into power, 250,000 have been settled in permanent homes. In addition to the 150,000 remaining, there are about 160,000 from other countries for whom some provisions must be made.

While these figures may look large, President Roosevelt in a talk to Committee leaders emphasized that they were just an inkling of probable future problems. He estimated that by the close of the war "there may be . . . 10 million or 20 million women and children belonging to many countries and possibly on several continents, who will enter into this wide picture, the problem of the human refugee."

Since Great Britain and France are occupied with the war, the chief burden will fall on neutral nations, he said, recommending that steps be taken immediately to survey and plan for resettlement of millions of people in such places as the American, Australian, and African portions of the globe. He believes that private sources could furnish the money to carry out engineering and other surveys to indicate the adaptability of sites in those regions along economic, social, health, financial, agricultural, and other lines.

### Migratory Farmers

A recent report prepared for Colonel F. C. Harrington, Work Projects commissioner, indicates that a plan may soon be worked out to care for that large group of unfortunates, the migratory farm laborers:

It seems unnecessary to argue that the migrant is essential to the present scheme of agriculture that obtains over large areas of the Southwest. It should also be unnecessary to argue that a public responsibility exists to tide these essential workers over the periods when, through no fault of their own, they temporarily lack the necessities of life.

The huge cotton plantations, vineyards, orchards, and vegetable gardens of the southwestern states need a large supply of additional man power in harvest time. The report stated that as early as 1912 growers began a campaign of "exaggerated advertising" in the Midwest which lured thousands of farmers westward in the course of the following years. Mexicans were also imported, especially to California, where 65 per cent of all Mexicans are now on relief and many are being repatriated. Advertising persisted, even in the face of depression and curtailed production, and the superabundance of migrant workers forced wages down below subsistence level.

Largely because of this advertising 221,000 Dust Bowl refugees entered California between 1933 and 1937, and thousands more entered other Pacific and southwestern states.

Because they must travel from place to place, migratory farmers live "on wheels," which adds an estimated 25 per cent to their normal budgets. Because they are in no position to bargain, their wages are pitifully low. Only one in every 33 makes \$16 a week; the majority make \$12 only when state law requires it. Sickness is prevalent and mortality high because they can afford only cheap, starchy food and can give their children no milk or meat.

Individual states are building work camps for them, financing cooperative farms, giving them special relief, and planning public works programs for January, February, and March when there is no harvesting to be done, but the plight of the migratory worker is being more and more regarded as a national problem. But even when a practical solution is discovered, Colonel Harrington's report warns that "progress in all probability will be slow and difficult."

### Air Flyers

Like the automobile industry in its early days, the airplane industry so far has been unable to turn out machines for the average purchaser. Such a plane should cost less than one thousand dollars, and be economical to operate. With few exceptions, most of the persons now owning planes for private use are well off; they can afford the higher prices which are charged.

However, it appears likely that the plane industry will be ready in a very few years to remove some of the present handicaps. Recently one aeronautical engineer announced his design for a "flier" plane which will weigh approximately 750 pounds. It will cruise at 100 miles an hour, with a top speed of 125 miles an hour. Many of its features are planned to simplify the difficulties of taking off and landing. It will be able to land at a speed of less than 45 miles an hour, with a landing run of about 60 feet. Although it will cost \$3,000 at first—a price which few persons can afford to pay—it will come down to \$1,000 or less when mass production gets

# The Week at Home

## What the People of the World Are Doing

under way. Similar designs are being made by other engineers, who predict that within less than five years it is likely that large-scale production will begin.

### Show Close

Ticket sellers at the big shows of 1939—the New York World's Fair and the San Francisco Exposition—closed their windows yesterday for the winter. Last night, after the spectators filed out of the gates, the exhibits were locked up and the lights turned out for the final time this year. Today workmen began the task of putting the fairs under cover at least until next spring. The New York officials announced definitely that they will reopen in 1940 on May 25 for a season lasting until October 27. Over 30 million people have visited the New York fair since it began.

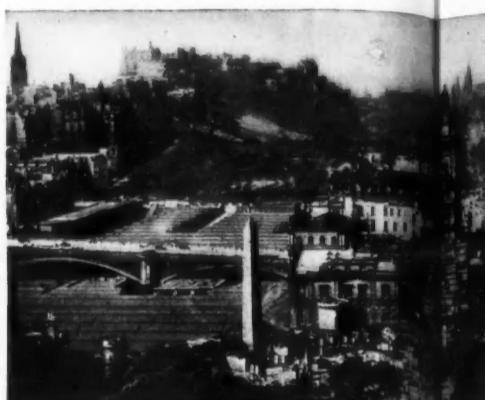
But in San Francisco it is not yet known whether their exposition is closed only for the winter, or for dismantling the buildings entirely. That question is left up to the merchants, who must decide the advisability of raising a million and a half dollars for the expenses of operating another season.

### Highway

Through the years, the Appalachian Mountains have acted as a barrier to persons traveling between the Middle West and the north-



IF THE FIRST CAVE MAN CAME BACK  
HUNGERFORD IN PITTSBURGH POST-GAZETTE



CAPITIVE  
The first German air raids on Britain were directed at shipping areas and attack repelled, excepting



IN THE DOG HOUSE FOR HOW LONG?  
SEIBEL IN RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

eastern Atlantic seaboard. Most of the existing roads across the region have sharp curves and steep grades. Now a superhighway is being constructed that will serve as a connecting link between Pittsburgh and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and at the same time provide the easiest route through the mountains.

When the highway is finished in June of next year it will be one of the finest in America. It will have four lanes, with the east-west traffic separated by a 10-foot center parkway. As an additional safety feature,

highway will cost about \$61,000,000 before it is finished. To help pay for it, for the first time on any national highway, a toll charge will be established. Under present plans, this will be about \$1.50 for a one-way trip and \$2 for a round-trip for pleasure cars, and \$10 for large trucks. Persons not traveling the entire distance will be permitted to pay a part of the fee at each tunnel.

### Child Labor

It is one thing for Congress to prohibit the employment in interstate commerce of children under 16 years of age, and it is another thing to enforce the law. Yet the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, reporting on the first year of the law, recently said it had found only 500 children illegally employed and this was due in many cases to ignorance or misunderstanding of the law. There were but three instances in which the Bureau had to resort to the courts.

The law sets a basic minimum age of 16 years, although it allows children of 14 to work in certain nonmanufacturing and non-mining enterprises and it sets an age minimum of 18 for occupations which are at all dangerous. The law covers only children engaged in interstate commerce, or about a quarter of the child labor force, yet the Bureau contends that the law effectively removes all children under 16 from work in mines and factories, which fall into the interstate category. It is also pointed out that 12 states have now established a 16-year minimum age.



SUPERHIGHWAY  
PENNSYLVANIA TURNPIKE COMMISSION

Model of modern highway construction will be the new thoroughfare which is being cut through the mountains of Pennsylvania, from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh. Eliminated will be bad hills, curves, and grade crossings.

# Home and Abroad

## Are Doing, Saying, and Thinking



ACME

**ON THE FRONT**  
In cities and naval bases in Scotland. The city of Edinburgh saw an  
attack by British reports.

## FOREIGN

### "Intolerable Pressure"

News of a sobering nature was received in Japan during the last few weeks. From China came reports of retreats and of heavy Japanese casualties in recent fighting. Also from China



COUNTING SHEEP BRINGS NO REST  
BROWN IN N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE

came the disquieting news that the Soviet government was sending more aid to the Chinese—thus violating the recent truce which was supposed to have ended such aid along with the desultory fighting between Russian and Japanese troops on the Mongolian frontiers. The surprise arrival of a new Soviet military mission at Chinese headquarters aroused fears that the Soviet intended to use its aid to China as a weapon to force the Japanese government to come to terms with Moscow and Berlin.

It was from an entirely different quarter, however, that the gravest news came. In a luncheon speech in Tokyo, United States Ambassador Joseph Grew astounded the many prominent Japanese who were present by delivering a blunt, forceful castigation of Japanese policy in China—warning that the American people deeply resent the "violation and interference with American rights by Japanese armed forces in China in disregard of treaties and agreements."

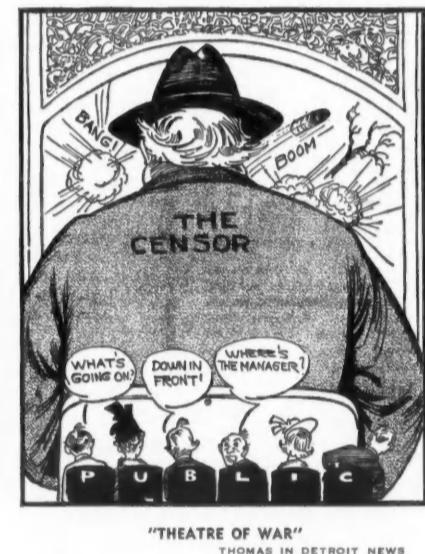
Since Mr. Grew had just returned from Washington the Japanese understood his words to contain an official ring. A number of liberals and civilians expressed pleasure, for he had said what no Japanese official dared utter. Military and naval officers, however, were greatly incensed. One declared that the speech, coupled with American naval concentrations in the western Pacific, constituted "intolerable pressure" upon Japan. Foreign Minister Admiral Nomura warned that Japanese determination as regards China was "too strong to be changed or affected by a third

power." Many Japanese were convinced that the ambassador's words intimated stronger measures on the part of the United States. In considering the sudden stiffening of the United States, along with new pressure from Russia, and military difficulties in China, many thoughtful Japanese have become depressed and apprehensive.

### Stockholm Conference

In the year 1250 a Swedish nobleman founded that section of Stockholm's waterfront known today as the "city between the bridges." Since that year the old churches, palaces, and cobbled streets of that section have been the scene of many an impressive ceremony, but few more so than the recent meeting between King Gustav, Haakon, and Christian, of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and President Kallio of Finland. There was no military display, and little cheering. Massed choirs and crowds in the streets joined in the solemn chords of the old Lutheran chorale "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," while the Scandinavian leaders prayed for peace in the royal Lutheran church where kings of Sweden have been crowned for centuries.

It was a moment made doubly solemn by the pressure of outside events. The four neutral states saw their neutrality and security in jeopardy. Russia was pressing Finland hard for concessions. Sweden feared a Russian



"THEATRE OF WAR"  
THOMAS IN DETROIT NEWS

drive to annex the rich iron mines of her far north in the event of a Russian invasion of Finland. Norway feared a Russian attempt to gain control of her far northern ports. Denmark feared a possible German move against her.

After two days of discussions in the Italian-style palace of King Gustav, the four Scandinavian leaders and their foreign ministers adjourned. Realizing the military weakness of the northern states, they decided to continue to rely upon their traditional policy of neutrality, come what may. Moral support



GENDREAU

**THE OTHER END OF THE EMPIRE**  
The reactions of India's millions to the war in which the British Empire has become involved is a mixed one. The ambitions of the politically conscious among the masses is for independence, or at least dominion status. Britain is unlikely to receive wholehearted support unless she makes her pledges to India more definite.

was offered to Finland, but little more. As Finnish diplomats set off once more for Moscow to discuss the Soviet demands on Finland (the nature of which still remained a secret) all four Scandinavian states felt their neutrality and security involved, all hoped for the best and held their breath.

### Back to Madrid

When Generalissimo Francisco Franco this month transferred nearly all Spanish government bureaus from their temporary offices back to Madrid—thus restoring that city as the traditional capital of Spain—he reminded the world that while other powers are entering a period of intense destruction, Spain is emerging from the chaos of her own. With subways and taxis again in operation, and with most of the big hotels and restaurants reopened, there is much about Madrid that resembles pre-war days. But the scars of strife remain ever present in the form of crippled soldiers, women in black, unfinished buildings begun long ago, and in housing, food, rubber, coal, and steel shortages.

Intense bitterness on both sides has been relaxed somewhat and given a curious turn by events elsewhere. Loyalist veterans who fought what they thought was Nazism, and nationalists who fought what they believed to have been Communism, have been profoundly shocked by the recent signs of German-Russian friendship. A feeling of deep disillusionment broods over Spain. One result of it has been to unify many Spaniards in support of the government's policy of strict neutrality in the present war. Laws have already been decreed which prohibit Spanish vessels from trading with belligerents, and which place an embargo upon shipments of war materials to nations at war.

### Opposition in India

In India today a curious situation exists. Through a declaration by the British viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, that land is technically at war with Germany. But among the some 390,000,000 Indian peoples, who constitute two-thirds of the British Empire population,

there is no such certainty. The powerful National Congress party, which controls all but three of the provincial Indian legislatures, has announced that it "cannot possibly give support to what would amount to an imperialist policy." By this the party apparently means that it will only support the war if granted concessions.

One important concession the British government has already agreed to make. In place of the complicated federation system set up under the Government of India Act of 1935 (which left large powers in British hands), it has promised at the close of the war to take steps designed eventually to elevate India to the status of a self-governing dominion, such as Canada.

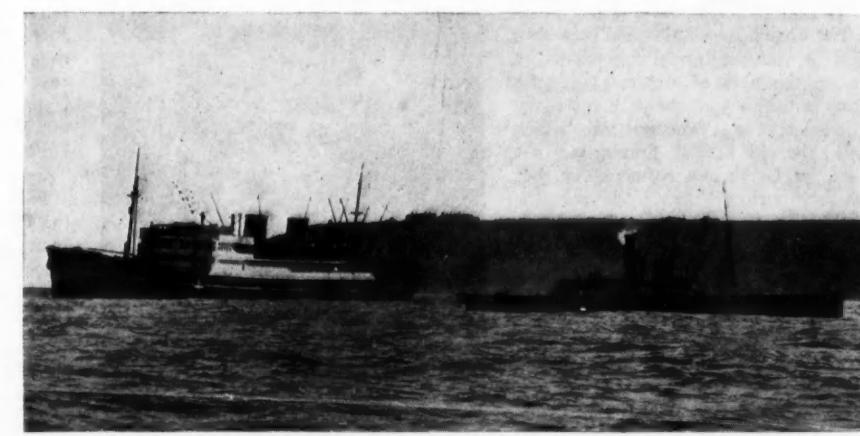
This concession has not yet satisfied the party, which has caused eight of its provincial governments to resign in protest. Indian leaders believe the British promise is too loose and too general. They hold that it resembles too closely vague promises of independence with which Britain purchased Indian support in the last war, only to forget them as soon as the war was ended. Under the leadership of Mohandas K. (Mahatma) Gandhi, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the party has announced its opposition to Hitler, but has asked for iron-clad guarantees of future independence before it will make any move to support Britain's prosecution of the war.

### Falkland Islands

A few hundred miles northeast of the southern tip of South America the Falkland Islands lie huddled together as though seeking protection from the wilderness of the seas about them. Most of the 2,500 inhabitants of these islands are of Scotch descent, and there is, in fact, much about the Falklands that suggests the islands north of Scotland. There are the same high winds, bare hills, and flocks of sheep nibbling at tussock grass.

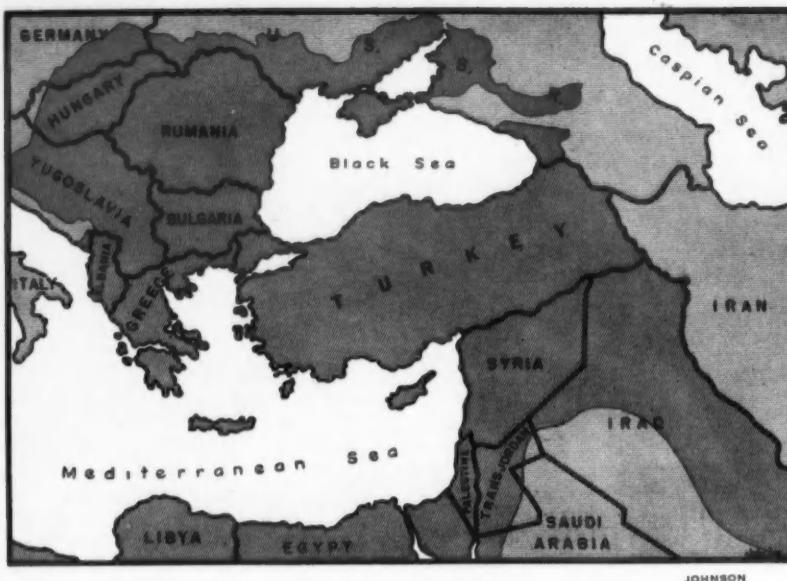
No one seems to know who first discovered the Falklands, but ever since the sixteenth century their ownership has been disputed. The Dutch, French, British, Spanish, and Argentines have all claimed them in turn. In 1831 the United States entered the scene when Yankee whalers took over the government. Two years later they withdrew, however, and the British took possession once more, heedless of the protests of Argentina, then torn by revolution. A few years ago the dispute was opened once again when the Argentine government published a postage stamp upon which there was a map showing the Falklands as belonging to Argentina.

Today the Falklands are posing a new problem. On one hand they lie within the American "neutral zone" just established, and are claimed by Argentina. On the other hand, the British are using them (as they were used in the World War) as a naval base, a haven for interned German merchant ships, and as prison camps for captured German crews. Thus, on a technical count, Argentina regards her neutrality as being compromised. What, if anything, she will do about it is now a matter of conjecture.



WIDE WORLD

SEARCHING FOR CONTRABAND  
A British contraband control steamer stands by a liner which has been ordered to stop by British naval vessels. British officers from the contraband control steamer board the ships that are stopped, and look over the cargoes and ship's papers.



THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE DURING ITS GREATEST PERIOD

JOHNSON

## Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

### Rise and Fall of the Ottoman Empire

**L**OCATED at the meeting place of the three continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, Turkey has played a decisive role in the history of the world, especially in the history of Europe. The Turks at one time achieved a position of such power and influence that they actually threatened to overrun all Europe and destroy the foundations of western civilization. For two centuries, they made repeated assaults against the European races, notably the Germans and Magyars, and before the period of decline set in, extended their empire to the very gates of Vienna.

The Ottoman Empire sprang from humble beginnings. Othman, from whom the race derived its name, laid the foundations in the fourteenth century for the great expansion which deeply affected

the peoples of three continents. The Ottoman Turks, Mongolian in race and Mohammedan in religion, regarded themselves as destined to conquer the world for Islam, and step by step built one of the mightiest empires in the world, a large part of which remained intact at the outbreak of the World War.

#### Turks in Europe

The Turks made their first incursion into Europe in 1354 and one by one swept away the kingdoms which had been formed in the Middle Ages upon the ruins of the East Roman Empire, with its capital in Constantinople. By the end of the century they had either annexed or reduced to dependencies all the Balkan peninsula, and had brought the frontiers of their empire to Hungary. During the next century, their irresistible march continued. They swept further northward, westward to the Adriatic, where they threatened Rome and Italy, and on May 29, 1453, under Mohammed the Conqueror, captured the city of Constantinople, which since the days of the split in the Roman Empire had been the capital of the eastern, or Byzantine Empire.

The early part of the next century saw the Turks concentrating on spreading their frontiers in Asia and Africa. By 1515 they had conquered a considerable portion of Persia, including Armenia and upper Mesopotamia. They acquired Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, and before the middle of the century brought both Algeria and Tunisia in North Africa into their empire. Everything in northern Africa, to the borders of Morocco, was in Turkish hands, where it remained until the early part of the nineteenth century.

Meanwhile, the Turks were marching

even further into central Europe. In 1521, they seized Belgrade, and five years later overran Hungary, which had stood as the greatest bulwark against the Turkish peril. From the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth, the boundary between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg possessions fluctuated. At the zenith of its power, reached in 1672, the Ottoman Empire was in undisputed control of the Aegean and Black Seas, and exerted a powerful influence over the Mediterranean. In Europe alone, its possessions included all or part of the present-day countries of Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Russia.

#### Collapse of Hungary

The collapse of Hungary was a momentous event in the history of Europe, for it brought the Turks to the very gates of Vienna. The Habsburgs thenceforth became the defenders of Christian Europe against the infidel Turks. Late in the seventeenth century, the Turks launched a campaign aimed immediately at Vienna and eventually at Rome. The Turks were repulsed as they reached Vienna, by the brilliant Polish military genius, John Sobieski. This defeat marks the beginning of the decline of the Ottoman Empire, which continued until after the World War. In victory after victory, the Turks were pushed back across the Danube.

During the period of Turkish occupation of southeastern Europe, the Turks never assimilated the inhabitants of the regions they conquered. As the historian Fisher reminds us: "The Turk remained an alien in Europe, having no part or lot in its traditions, and limited in his notions of imperial government to the philosophy of a slave-owning oligarchy in a world of potential slaves."

It was largely the same influences which disrupted the Habsburg Empire that were responsible for the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century. The French Revolution had unleashed a spirit of nationalism which created a desire on the part of oppressed peoples everywhere to throw off the yoke and assert their independence. "The real force which exploded the old Turkish Empire was not Roman, but Greek, not cosmopolitan, but nationalist," writes Fisher. "It was the determination of the depressed Christian peoples of the Balkan peninsula, of the Greeks, the Serbs, the Bulgars, the Roumans, to throw off the yoke of their Turkish oppressor and to enjoy an independent national life of their own." Before the outbreak of the World War, the Turk had been driven out of most of Europe and many of his possessions in Africa had been taken from him. The war brought to an end the Ottoman Empire and erected in its stead a Turkey consisting of an almost exclusively Turkish population.

## Personalities in the News

**I**n addition to being president, Mr. Roosevelt is commander-in-chief of the army, and on October 17 he ordered an army officer to take over the administration of one of the most important acts he has had passed as president. He appointed Lieutenant Colonel Philip B. Fleming to replace Elmer F. Andrews as administrator of the Wages and Hours Division of the Department of Labor.

Although it affects some 12,000,000 employees engaged in interstate commerce, the Wages and Hours Act was designed primarily to improve the lot of the nation's lowest-paid workers. Specifically, it calls for a minimum hourly wage of 40 cents and a maximum workweek of 40 hours by 1945.

Just why and how Andrews resigned is a secret, although in the year he held office standards were established for only certain branches of the textile and clothing industries and this had been criticized as being too slow. Just why Fleming was appointed seemed more obvious. Mr. Roosevelt likes army officers. Brigadier General Edwin Watson has proved an efficient White House secretary, and Colonel F. C. Harrington seems highly satisfactory as Work Projects commissioner. An administrator needs efficiency, intelligence, honesty, energy, and unwavering obedience to the letter of the law he is administering. These qualities are possessed by army officers in general and by Colonel Fleming in particular.

The tall, gray-haired officer received his appointment two days after his fifty-second birthday. It climaxed the list of increasingly important assignments which he has been getting ever since he was graduated from West Point at the head of his class in 1911. Like Andrews, he is an engineer, and as such he has served in the Canal Zone, in the Philippines, and in half a dozen posts in this country. He has also spent much of his time teaching engineering, and he was a senior instructor in the United States Engineering School in Virginia in 1935 when he was assigned to duty with the Public Works Administration. He served in this capacity for two years and in 1936 was made coordinator of the Resettlement Administration, a post which he also held for two years. He was stationed in St. Paul, Minnesota, not far from his native state, Iowa, when he was given his present title of "assistant to the wages and hours administrator." (Congressional and army technicalities temporarily prevent his being called "administrator.")

It will be Fleming's job to put the law into effect, to establish wages-and-hours standards, to withstand the activities of pressure groups, and track down evaders. With Harold D. Jacobs, publicity chief and temporary acting administrator, he will have to keep employers informed of changes in the law and prevent unwitting violations. He will have to win the sympathy and cooperation of industry, and inevitably he will make a few enemies. But those who have followed Fleming's career believe that he is equal to the task and that this very vital piece of legislation is in safe hands.

**T**HE growing importance of Turkey's course in the tumultuous affairs of Europe in recent weeks has focused considerable attention upon the man who has dictated it since the death of Kemal Ataturk, last year. He is Ismet Inonu, the 59-year-old president of the republic, whose quiet manner of speech and carriage betrays little hint of the rigorous career which has been his as a soldier, diplomat, and administrator.

Ismet Pasha (as he was known at birth) was born in Smyrna in 1880, the son of a court magistrate in the old Ottoman Empire. Given a military education, the young Ismet studied a great deal in Germany, where he found himself very much influenced by European ideas. These ideas first found means of expression when he joined the "Young Turks" who arose against the corrupt government of old Sultan Abdul-Hamid, in 1908. Following the success of this revolt, Ismet served the new government first in suppressing rebellious Arabs in distant Yemen, and then as an artillery officer—dubbed the "child general"—in the Balkan Wars.

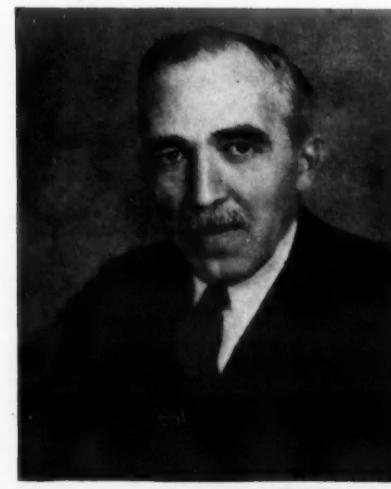
It was during the World War, however, that Ismet Pasha first began to attain his full stature. In command of the Turkish artillery at the Dardanelles, he played an

WIDE WORLD  
ISMET INONU

important part in the defeat of the British land and sea campaign to force open the straits leading into the Black Sea and to Russia. It was during the World War also that he first met Mustapha Kemal, later known as Kemal Ataturk, creator and dictator of the modern Turkish republic.

The collapse of the old Turkish Empire at the end of the war depressed many ambitious Turks, but not Ismet Pasha and Mustapha Kemal. Both fled into the mountains of the interior where they raised a new and imposing army to prevent partition of Turkey by the Allies. The crowning victory of this army was achieved under Ismet's command at Inonu, in 1921, when the Turks defeated and routed the Greek army. It was from this battle that Ismet Pasha took his new surname, and became Ismet Inonu. Then, as head of the Turkish delegation to the peace conference at Lausanne, Ismet Inonu gained another important victory when he flouted the Allies and prevented them from making any attempt to partition Turkey itself. Upon his return from this mission Inonu was highly honored and appointed premier. He became the right-hand man of Kemal in carrying out the dictator's reforms.

Following the death of Kemal, last year, the Turkish parliament unanimously elected Inonu as his successor. Unlike Kemal, who was fond of high living, Inonu is a family man, and spends a great deal of his time with his wife and three children. Well educated, and well informed, Inonu speaks French fluently, German fairly well, and English a little. He is somewhat hard of hearing—a disability which it is said he often puts to good advantage in finding himself "unable" to hear that which he does not wish to hear in conferences with subordinates and foreign diplomats.

H. & E.  
COL. PHILIP FLEMING



DRAMATIZING HOUSING

Students of the Central High School in Flint, Michigan, developed interest in housing through the medium of music and drama.

## H. S. Students of Flint, Michigan, Make Study of Housing Problem

LAST week there appeared in this paper a discussion of the housing problem in which the main points of the subject were outlined. It is quite possible, however, that certain classes may wish to make an extended study of housing and, if so, the experience of Central High School at Flint, Michigan, may be helpful to them.

The civics class of the Central High School began its study with an examination of a federal survey on housing in Flint which had recently been conducted. This survey showed that much needed to be done if the people of the city were to be well housed.

But the students did not stop with a reading of the survey. A unit on housing was introduced into the civics classes of the school, and other classes participated in the study. In fact, housing was made a project for study throughout the school. The public speaking class debated the question before other social studies classes. The dramatics class presented plays in which housing was the main theme. The students in the music department helped to maintain interest in housing by singing songs like "My Old Kentucky Home," "Home, Sweet Home," "In a Cottage Small," and so on, as a part of public programs. The modern social problems classes had panel discussions of housing, studying the problem not only as it manifested itself in Flint but as it has been found in other cities and other parts of the world. The problem of budgeting and home financing was studied in certain commercial classes and also in the home economics classes.

The social studies department conducted a forum and speakers from the outside participated. The members of the City Housing Commission were on the program. The students followed these programs and studies by reading what the local papers had to say about housing and by criticizing the articles which appeared. They compared what they read in the papers with what they heard in their programs and forums.

Finally the students decided to go further into the problem by making a movie of Flint housing. A report which has come to us from the school explains the project in this way:

"Funds were secured by taking voluntary collections in all civics, economics, and modern social problems classes. Time for the study was found by taking pictures on some of the Christmas vacation days and several Saturdays. Films were ordered, a faculty member agreed to act as photographer, and the athletic department loaned us their new movie camera. The architectural drawing classes made the titles, another group edited the film, and the science department loaned us their projector. One student in modern social problems drew large wall maps to show the location of the areas photographed. On the last day of the semester combined groups of all these classes, numbering nearly 1,000 students, saw their project. This semester each teacher uses the film in his civics classes when the unit on housing is being

studied. One civics class recently followed this up by a field trip to one of the slum areas."

Students who participate in a study such as this one on housing which was conducted in Flint will unquestionably know more about the issue involved than the ordinary citizen does. These students may then help to mold public opinion. They may do it even though they are not old enough to vote. One helps mold public opinion when he expresses his own opinions. Students who engage in work of this kind are therefore not preparing for citizenship, but they are actually engaged in performing the work of citizens.

It is desirable, of course, that students should read widely about all the important problems of their day. But it is a good thing for them, in addition, to make a special, detailed study of some subject so that they may understand it well and may be leaders of opinion in their communities with respect to it.

### "For A' That and A' That"

The two stanzas below are taken from one of Robert Burns' best-loved poems, which has been called the "universal anthem of democracy."

*What tho' on hamely fare we dine,  
Wear hoddern-grey, and a' that;  
Gie fools their silks, and knaves their  
wine—  
A man's a man for a' that!  
For a' that and a' that,  
Their tinsel show, and a' that;  
The honest man, though e'er sae poor,  
Is king of men, for a' that!*

\* \* \*

*Then let us pray that come it may,  
(As come it will for a' that)  
That sense an' worth, o'er a' the earth,  
May bear the gree, an' a' that.  
For a' that, an' a' that,  
It's coming yet for a' that,  
That man to man, the wide wold o'er,  
Shall brothers be for a' that!*

## National Poll of Student Opinion

The 10 questions which appear below are not presented for purposes of discussion, but as a poll of student opinion. It is important that answers to these questions should be written without any previous class discussion. The teacher may read the questions one at a time. Each student writes the number of the question and his answer. He will then have 10 answers, each numbered. He is not to sign his name to the paper. The answers may then be collected and the results counted by a committee appointed by the teacher or the class. The committee determines the total vote on each question. This class report should then be sent to THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

After we have received these reports

## . Vocational Outlook .

### Nursing

NURSING is a girl's profession, and it can be the most rigorous and at the same time the most altruistic calling open to girls. There are few requirements set up for admission to training, only a high school diploma and sound health, but in fairness to herself a girl should make sure she has many other qualifications. She should be instinctively neat, orderly, and industrious. She should be so devoted to nursing as not to mind the long hours, drudgery, and occasional discomfort that the profession and its ethics demand. She should not be squeamish nor unduly sensitive to the sight of blood, disease, or even death, for these, too, are a part of nursing.

Training can start in high school, with the study of elementary biology, chemistry, physics, and related subjects, but the real work begins in nursing school. These are as a rule connected with large hospitals, for a daily average of 50 or 100 patients is often required before a hospital can set up a recognized school. A girl goes through three years of training and an assortment of striped uniforms before she is allowed the pure white of a registered nurse. In this time she combines study with practical experience and a fair amount of hard work. In fact, many training schools are said to encourage enrollment primarily as a source of cheap hospital labor. The trend is away from this practice, however, and toward paid tuition, which ranges from \$100 a year to much higher amounts.

In view of this, it might be well for a girl entering the field to find out about the nursing schools in her locality and see if it might not be as feasible to study nursing at a liberal arts college. Although it may take longer, a college education places a nurse at once in the higher paid and less crowded realms of her profession. (Complete information on nursing schools and colleges which teach nursing may be obtained from the National League of Nursing Education, 50 West 50th Street, New York City.)

On leaving training school a nurse must pass state examinations and should join the American Nurses Association, which will do much to keep her employed and posted on new professional developments. She will then seek employment as a private nurse, an institutional nurse, in the public health service, or in one of the many smaller fields which she will be qualified to enter.

A private duty nurse is on the call list of a hospital or clinic or on the local nurses' register and is assigned to private cases, either in the home or hospital. The field is badly overcrowded, with roughly half of the nation's 400,000 nurses on private duty. An eight-hour day is in force in many localities and a minimum daily wage of \$7 often prevails, but work is scarce. The average annual income, which was only \$1,200 in 1929, dropped to \$735 in 1932, and although it has somewhat recovered, the current issue of the *Journal of American Nursing* nevertheless refers to "the precarious economic status of the

private duty nurse" and points to the trend away from private nursing.

Institutional nursing, in a hospital or sanitarium, is of course preferable because it pays a fixed salary and this is commonly as high as \$1,500 and often higher. There is keen competition for institutional jobs, and it is here that a good education with experience in some specialized field such as X-ray or anesthesia wins preference.

The new and rising field for nurses, which offsets to some degree the decline in private duty work, is public health nursing, financed by state and local governments and a few private companies and agencies. The nurses work in free clinics, public schools, and are sent out to private homes. Much of their work is with maternity cases and the care of children, but their role is constantly being enlarged to include new functions, and their numbers are growing correspondingly. There were 15,907 public health nurses in 1931; today there are 23,029 (not counting W. P. A. nurses) and their average income is said to be \$1,500.

If a girl has her "pin," and can type or do mild clerical work as well, there are jobs for her on the border line of public health



THE NURSE

service: in air lines, railroads, department stores, private schools, factories, insurance companies, and a growing number of industrial concerns. These pay well as a rule, but offer little chance of professional advancement, whereas an institutional or government nurse can gradually climb up to the point where she is ready to concentrate entirely in a specialized field or go into the administrative side of nursing. There will be graduate courses she can take, and these in themselves offer many worthwhile advantages.

For the "career woman" out to make a fortune, nursing is the wrong profession, and for girls interested in science there are other careers, as technician, laboratory worker, or even doctor. Only one who has a deep desire to relieve pain and suffering and who is fully aware of what it may mean in long hours, hard work, and low pay, should make up her mind to become a nurse.

6. If you should become convinced that, without our help, Great Britain and France would lose the war and that, with our help, they would win, would you favor our helping them by supplying airplanes, by sending our navy to fight for them, and by giving them financial assistance?

7. Would you favor our sending soldiers to Europe to fight under such circumstances as those stated in question 6?

8. Do you think America should remain strictly neutral no difference who appears to be winning the war?

9. Should the United States increase her armed forces?

10. Should high school classes give chief emphasis to (a) the discussion of the war and problems arising out of it, or (b) the discussion of American domestic problems? (Answer by writing (a) or (b).)

# The Future of the Merchant Marine

(Concluded from page 1, column 1)

war zones is enacted for the purpose of avoiding friction between the United States and the nations which are at war. If our ships carry goods from the United States to Great Britain and France, some of them will probably be sunk by German submarines. Americans will probably be killed. This will give rise to quarrels between our government and Germany, just as similar incidents produced dangerous quarrels before our entrance into the World War. If our ships undertake to carry American goods to Germany, they will probably be captured by the British, and this may lead to quarrels with Great Britain. Hence, in order to make it less likely that the United States will get into war, Congress prohibits American ships from carrying on trade in certain war zones. The idea is that even though this action results in losses to American shipping, and even though this is regrettable, the injury is justified if America is kept out of war. If we should get into war, the loss to the nation would be much heavier than any which our merchant vessels will suffer from the present legislation.

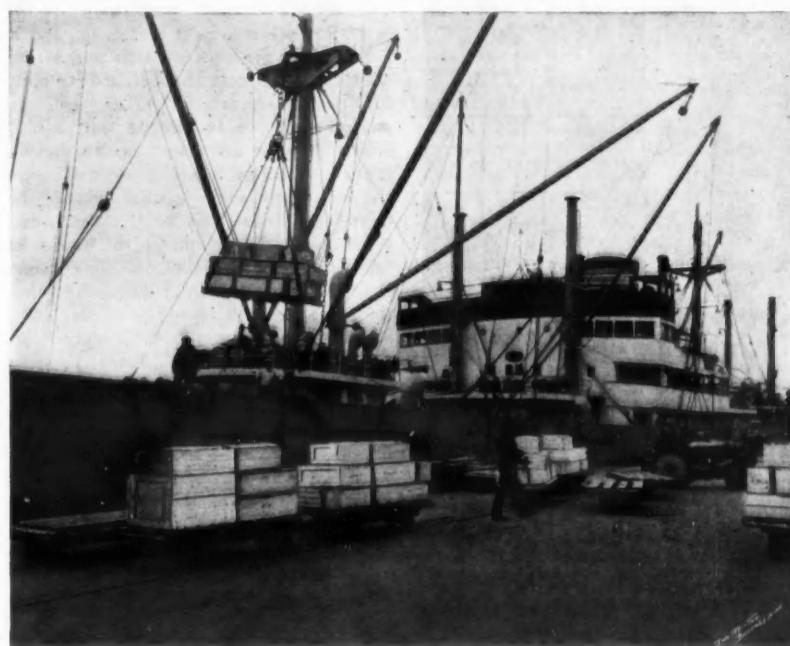
Without undertaking to decide the question of the wisdom of the law, we may now inquire what it will probably do to the American merchant marine.

### The Merchant Marine

By "American merchant marine" we mean the merchant vessels which are registered as American ships. A few of them are owned by the United States government, but most of them are owned by private shipping companies. They carry the American flag and operate under American laws. The vessels must come up to the requirements of American law. American seamen are employed.

In the American merchant marine there are 326 vessels, of which 44 belong to the government and 282 to private companies. These are the vessels which are engaged in foreign trade; it does not include vessels engaged in coastwise or Great Lakes traffic. The United States Maritime Commission estimates that if the law had passed as originally written, and if American ships had been forbidden to trade with any nation at war, 130 of these ships would have been driven from the seas. They would have been laid up without anything to do. With the law changed so as to permit American ships to trade in the Pacific and possibly with all Canadian ports, about a fourth of all American vessels engaged in foreign trade will be out of work.

This means a heavy loss for the companies which own the ships. Not only do they lose their profits on the carrying trade, but they are put to heavy expense. Each vessel must be prepared for a



DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
WHAT WILL THE WAR DO TO AMERICAN SHIPPING?

long lay-up period. It must be painted and cared for to prevent rust and damage. Its furniture and many instruments must be taken ashore. Even with the best of care the ships will depreciate in value while lying inactive in port.

Being tied up in this way will be serious enough, declares the Maritime Commission. But the situation is rendered worse by the fact that these ships might have a hard time getting back their business when the war closes. A ship cannot operate unless it has contracts for the carrying of goods back and forth. It has to go out for the business just as any other company does. It is a hard job to get the contracts. When an American ship is taken out of trade with the war zone countries, other ships, Italian and Swedish for example, jump in and take the business. The British ships take part of it. They get the contracts which the American ships have had. It would be very hard for the American ships when the war is over to get the contracts back. Merchants will hesitate to give them long-time contracts, for they will know that if another war comes along the American ships will again be withdrawn from trade and can no longer carry out their contracts.

### Plans Considered

The government is considering plans for paying at least part of the damage done to ships withdrawn from trade. But this cannot save them from loss if they permanently lose their business; that is, if they fail to get it back when the war in Europe

has finally been brought to a conclusion.

Another question must be considered. We have seen that the American shipping companies, that is, the private companies which own the vessels, will suffer loss as a result of the neutrality legislation. But what of the effect on the nation as a whole? Does it make any difference to us as a nation whether we have a large merchant marine or not, or whether the merchant marine we have is well preserved or not?

This is a debatable question. Since the period of the World War, Congress has taken the position that it does make a difference to us whether the merchant marine is large or not, and so Congress has sought to encourage American shipping. Here are the arguments frequently heard in favor of maintaining a large merchant marine as a national policy:

### Arguments Given

1. A large number of merchant ships is necessary as a measure of defense. A navy is not very effective unless it is backed up by fleets of merchant vessels. These vessels are necessary to carry supplies to the navy. Furthermore, troops cannot be moved across the sea except by the use of merchant ships. Merchant vessels are needed to bring supplies from the outside to a nation which is at war. Not only that, but merchant vessels can be quickly transformed in time of war into fighting vessels.

2. The United States exports a tenth of all that it produces, and it imports certain essential supplies such as sugar, rubber, coffee, silk, and tin. The export and import trade may be carried on in foreign vessels in time of peace, but it is not certain that foreign ships will carry on our commerce to our satisfaction in time of war. When the World War broke out, foreign vessels were carrying 90 per cent of our commerce. Immediately upon the outbreak of war, the belligerent nations were compelled to withdraw their ships, and many of these ships quit carrying goods to and from the United States. The result was that for a long time it was impossible to export our goods. Our docks were piled high with goods awaiting shipment and it was hard to obtain goods from abroad. Freight rates went up rapidly, and this increased the cost to American people of all goods which were imported.

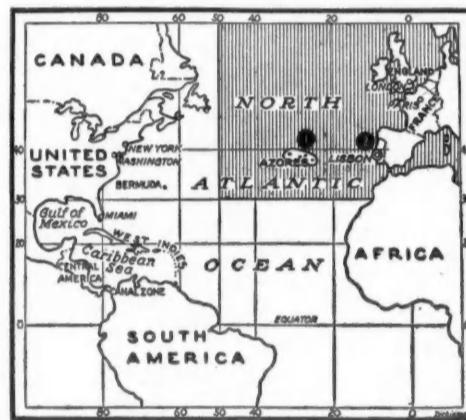
It was because of the general feeling that we needed a large merchant marine that the government began to encourage the building and operating of ships by American companies. This effort has been carried on quite effectively since 1936, when the Maritime Commission was estab-

lished. Acting through the Maritime Commission, the government helps shipping companies to build and operate ships. It pays part of the cost of new vessels, and grants a subsidy to American companies which operate the ships. This permits the Americans to stay in business in competition with foreigners in spite of the fact that the cost of building ships and of operating them is greater in this country than in others.

Our merchant marine has now been built to the point where about a third of all our foreign trade is carried in American ships. Our merchant fleet is only a little smaller than those of Japan and Germany, though it is less than a fifth the size of the British merchant marine. We are still building rapidly. The Maritime Commission has planned that 50 ships shall be built every year for 10 years.

### Attitude of Congress

The attitude of a majority in Congress at this time relative to the American merchant marine and other neutrality legislation which will affect it is about as follows: "It is desirable that we have a large merchant marine. It is regrettable that anything must be done to hurt its progress. It is better, however, that a large proportion of our ships should be lying idle in our ports than that they should be carrying on trade in the war zones running a risk of being destroyed and of bringing about quarrels which might get us into the war. The legislation prohibiting them from the war zones should be softened as much as possible. Our ships should be allowed to trade with warring nations provided they are kept away from places where actual fighting is taking place or where submarines may be cruising. It is all right to let them trade in the Pacific



NEUTRALITY AND AMERICAN SHIPPING  
Under the revisions proposed for the Neutrality Act, American ships would be banned from the shaded area shown on the map. Exception is made for air travel to Lisbon (2) by way of the Azores (1).

Ocean but not in the North Atlantic. If it turns out that the legislation now being enacted endangers seriously the development of an American merchant marine, the government may then consider measures to help the shipping companies and to keep an American merchant fleet on the seas. That problem can be taken up actively when the war is over, but for the present our merchant marine must endure a temporary loss in order that the danger of our being drawn into quarrels with other nations may be lessened."

Those who are interested in studying the problem of American shipping further may find the following references helpful:

- REFERENCES: (a) Shipbuilding Upsurge. *Business Week*, August 26, 1939, pp. 14-16.
- (b) Transportation Problems, by C. H. C. Pearall. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July 1939, pp. 155-163.
- (c) Americans Ship Out, by G. C. Stoney. *Survey Graphic*, January 1939, pp. 13-17.
- (d) America's Maritime Power, by T. M. Woodward. *Forum*, May 1939.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Kemal Ataturk (kay-mah'l ah-tah-toork'), Ismet Inonu (is-met ee-nuh-noo), Abdul-Hamid (ahb'dool-hah'-med), Shukru Saracoglu (shoo'kroo sah-rak'oe-gloo), Ankara (ahng'kah-rah), Yemen (yeh'men), Mohandas Gandhi (moe-hahn'-das gahn'dee), Pandit Nehru (pahn'deet nay'-roo).

## Smiles

Foreman: "So you wanna quit us. Don't the wages suit you?"

Pat: "The wages is all right, but I feel guilty fer cheatin' a horse out of a job."



"THIS IS JUST THE SORT OF THING, WILKINS, THAT SHAKES OUR DEPOSITORS' CONFIDENCE."  
STAMATY IN SATURDAY EVENING POST

In one of his books, P. G. Wodehouse wrote this dedication: "To my daughter Leonora, without whose constant aid and encouragement this book would have been written in half the time."

An antique collector has left over 400 clocks in his will. Someone is going to have a busy time winding up the estate.

—TRD-BITS

Daylight saving is founded on the old Indian idea of cutting off one end of the blanket and sewing it on the other end to make it longer.

—WHIT'S WIT

"What did the critics say about that young artist's pictures?"

"They were not in complete agreement. One said, 'A pity to waste the canvas' and the other, 'A pity to waste the paint.'"

—SIE UND ER

"You say you are from Brooklyn? That would make you a Brooklynite, wouldn't it? By the way, may I have another piece or two of your candy?"

"Certainly. And you say you are from Paris?"

—CLIPPED